[For information on "suerte", a supernatural power associated with good or bad luck or fortune in carrying out various economic enterprises, see category 777.]

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



and four *chuycales*, who are in charge of sacred matters. Certain shamans, called *dzunubiles*, also participate in calpul government.

In Cancuc, Villa did not inquire into the matter, but in Oxchuc and in Bachajón the calpules have separate patron saints and are known, in the case of Bachajón, by the names of San Sebastian and San Geronimo, in the case of Oxchuc, Santo Tomás and La Trinidad. In the church at Bachajón the santos belonging to the north calpul, San Sebastian and two others, stand on the left side of the church, while San Geronimo, San Manuel, and the Virgin, representing the south calpul, stand at the right side. It appears, however, at least in the case of Oxchuc, that the festivals of these saints are maintained by the people of both calpules jointly.

The antagonism between the calpules of Cancuc has expressed itself from time to time in violence. During Villa's stay it was rumored that the people of the southern half were about to attack those of the northern half, and indeed, shots were fired. Blom and LaFarge reported "a dragging feud" in this village.[28] Apparently marriages may and do take place between the calpules; there is no indication, however, that they are exogamous.

In Oxchuc a principal annual ceremony attends the transfer from one calpul to the other of a certain sacred book. This greatly venerated object was, after some reluctance, shown to Villa. He was requested to deliver to its custodians a dozen rockets, some candles, and some incense; he was then allowed to examine it in the presence of the chiefs and the chuycales of both calpules. It is a notebook of twelve paper sheets, 40 by 20 cm. in size; it has a deerskin cover. Of the twelve pages, nine bear writing, all but one on both sides. The text appears to be a series of orders set down by the Spanish authorities in the year 1674. The book is kept in a black wooden box; before and after removing it the chuycales prayed, kneeling, while incense was burned and the rockets were discharged.

The book is called *cahualtic* 'Our Master.' The ceremony of transfer of this sacred object takes place during the thirteen days beginning December 31. The principal members of the government of both calpules, numbering thirteen, assemble in the cabildo. The book is placed on a table with thirteen candles, thirteen rosaries, thirteen calabashes of lime mixed with tobacco, and thirteen vessels of atole. During the thirteen days the men remain segregated in the cabildo without contact with their homes or with women. Many prayers are uttered. At the conclusion of the period the box containing the book is escorted in solemn procession to the place it occupies during the rest of the year--not in the church, but in a special hut on the outskirts of the calpul of La Trinidad.

Information which Villa received from Indians of Chanal on the customs attending marriage differs in a number of respects from the account given by Blom and LaFarge,[29] or supplements that account, and therefore may be summarized here. There are no professional marriage negotiators. The boy's parents pay, ordinarily, four visits to the girl's parents to complete the agreement. On each visit they bring bread, eggs, fruit, and especially rum. The boy is expected

[28] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 387.

[29] *Ibid.*, 2: 358–359.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance, in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be represented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *dcbo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[36] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[38] The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*; this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.

[36] This image corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo Maya, of which one, the cruz *hadzra*, is moved about in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[38] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llamos veneran mucho al (ídolo) que llamán Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369-371.

241 Between September and October, when the tender ears are ready, some are torn loose to prepare atoles and tamales.

Toward the middle of October, when the milpa has reached maturity, all hands proceed to the task of the *dobla*, folding or breaking the stem of the plant so that the ear dries and may later be put into the [462] barn. This is an easy task, in which men, [857] women, and children take part.

The harvest takes place in November and [592] December with the participation of the whole family; it is a joyful task which compensates for all the moments of anxiety in the previous months, when subsistence was [251] scarce. The produce from the milpa is gathered in large nets and later stored in a corner of the house or in some improvised [804] structure nearby. The crop is measured by *zontles*, units of 400 ears, which are formed by counting the ears by fives: two ears are taken in one hand and three in the other until 400 are reached. The family of five [261] members which manages to harvest from [231] 15 to 20 zontles considers itself happy, since that much will last them the entire year, consuming 20 ears a day plus feeding one or two hogs and 10 or 12 chickens.

The milpa also produces various squashes, manioc (*dzinté*), and peanuts, which the Indians call *caxlan-chenek* ('Ladino's bean').

243 Exceptional among the Tzeltal is the cul-184 tivation of wheat in Amatenango. There the small valley and a creek have favored its development.

241 The most important ceremonies take ·796 place immediately after planting. They entrust the germination of the seed to the care of God, of the "thirteen holders of Heaven," and of "Tatik Jesucristo." The "thirteen holders of Heaven" refer to the principal saints who are mentioned in the prayers. The ceremonies consist in offer- [778] ings of prayers and incense before the [782] crosses kept in caves belonging to each paraje, and in one *bikit mixa* ('small Mass'), which the cabildos and principales of the

[P 201-B]

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

241 782 [825] *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague notions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot coals. 241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 [184] Another mukul-mixa is performed in Oxchuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau, near the ceremonial center of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchueqeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or [789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

*Other Subsistence Resources*

262 235 [231] [437] Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when

[P. 202-B]

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-

[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that: "In the old days there was no marriage be-

[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten, they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuo, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

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778 821 823 natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

*Distribution of Huts*

621 In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

[594] The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their 342 offspring. The habitations include a hut, 343 which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus [417] chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. 343 Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom 417 does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

*Relationships between Communities*

628 Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

412 TECHNOLOGY

*Tools and Techniques*

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[CP 205-B]

415 containers made of jicara (*boch*) or teco-
352 mate (*tzu*). In the bedroom is a bed
[513] (*uaybal*) made of boards placed on four
[735] forked poles, usually with a sleeping mat
[415] on it. Only the very poor sleep on mats on the floor. Small chairs, wooden chests for clothes, baskets of all shapes and sizes, pita bags and nets, shelves made of wood ribs, and pegs for hanging clothes are scattered around the hut without order.

353 The most important article is the altar
798 with the family cross. Its construction varies in different areas: it may be a plain small table made of tree trunks or better material. The altar is generally ornamented with pine needles. Occasionally, the figure of a saint is placed by the cross.

*Clothing and Ornaments*

291 Each community has its own style of
184 clothing, which gives a sense of unity to its members and permits the observer to identify easily the groups during fiestas or market days. This variety applies only to a few items of clothing, which is basically the
291 same for the entire region. Men's costume consists of short pants (*uesh*) and a long shirt (*nátil-kú*) which reaches the knee, both made of cloth that women weave; a red sash or belt (*chuj-chut*) of cotton, 10–15 cm. wide by 1.5 m. long, a palm hat (*pishol*); and leather sandals (*shanabil*). Residents of cold areas wear a woolen chamarra which is manufactured by the Chamulas. Women's costume consists of a skirt made of wool (*tzek*) or blue thick cloth, made in one piece and wrapped around the body with two pleats in front; it is belted at the waist by a red wool sash, which the Chamulas manufacture. Occasionally, they
301 wear a wool rebozo. They tie their hair with a red woolen ribbon (*malal*) and wear earrings (*yulel-chikinil*) and glass necklaces
291 (*ual*) bought in the city. Women always go barefoot, even during long trips. When outdoors they cover their heads with a cloth or wool fabric.

[184] Each municipio has made of these clothes

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613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 778 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] [574] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

614 626 887

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

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555 ta for minor saints. He alternates between
624 a period of activity and expense and one of
794 quiet and economic recovery. The cargos alternate between church positions and civil government positions, but in communities where Indian tradition is stressed, there is no clear-cut division between civil and religious matters, because of the influence of the sacred and supernatural in daily life.

554 Those functionaries who have a staff of
624 office wield great influence in their calpul.
293 This cane (*nabté*), a sign of important status, is made of pine or other fine wood, and has a silver handle adorned with colored ribbons, primarily yellow, green, and red. The staff is ornamented by the owner and is considered a family object, usually placed
[708] on the home altar. Occasionally it is the
[782] object of prayers and offerings of incense. People carrying it are called *bastonudos*.

624 It is the duty of the staff-carriers to com-
627 municate to every paraje the orders of the ayuntamiento and those coming from the supreme chief of the calpul; to summon people for communal duties; to apprehend prisoners in cases of crime; and to deal with public problems such as taxation and epidemics. Coping with transgressions such as minor stealing, adultery, disputes, and intrigues are also their responsibility within the paraje, following the traditional form of procuring mutual understanding on both sides, in a calm atmosphere, around a bottle
[692] of liquor. If conflict persists, those involved appear before chiefs of the calpul, who are called principales or "cabildos de justicia" even after they have finished their term of office.

794 The cargos from dzunubil on up are sacred and are open only to people with superior knowledge, recognized moral status, and expert experience in church ritual and in the semi-pagan ceremonies practiced in the caves, waterholes, and special mountains. These cargos are thus obtained not by automatic advancement but by special merits which are usually not acquired until advanced age. All such high representatives of

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794 the calpul must have a powerful nagual, through which they can learn about the private lives of their subordinates. This is usually the way they know who has enough money to pay for a feast, who can occupy special jobs, and which sinners deserve punishment.

## Religious Life

### *The Catholic Cult*

177 797 795 795 778 [346] [361] [776] [796] [794] The beliefs and religious practices introduced by Catholic missionaries in the 16th century have been adapted to the aboriginal culture. The largest and most important building of the village is the church, situated on the east side of the ceremonial center. In it are the image of the patron saint of the group, the holy cross, and lesser saints. The most profound ceremonies take place before the altar of these saints, who are looked upon as mediators between God and men, and are performed by the cabildos de misa, dzunubiles, and other elderly men of high rank who know both Catholic and Indian ritual.

346 796 795 [782] During the ceremonies the altar is decorated with flowers and with paper and ribbons of different colors. The floor is covered with pine needles, which give off an agreeable fragrance. Candles and copal are part of every prayer and ceremony, the copal having been used since pre-Hispanic times.

795 782 Common prayers of people who visit the center also have a place. These people have to enter the church and make an offering of candles to the patron saint. The prayers follow a formal pattern but vary in content according to the need and mood of the suppliant. Each individual talks intimately to the saint, specifying the help he needs, much as he would to a relative or a friend in whom he has absolute confidence. The two most frequent matters of petition are health and food; as the latter depends almost entirely on the condition of the cornfield, people pray that "it may not be damaged by the wind, or by cold, sun, birds, or plagues."

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795 In most of the prayers, Dios Tatik Jesu-
782 cristo and the 13 *fiadores* who are in heaven are mentioned. These 13 fiadores are God's immediate helpers and correspond to the
[778] Christian saints. The cross is venerated as a representation of God wherever a prayer is said and so appears on the family altar, on mountaintops, in caves, at fountains, at entrances to the town, at the four corners of the plaza, and in front of the church.

795 The local character of Catholicism is seen
778 in the Masses offered to the mountain called
776 Ikal Ajau, near the ceremonial center of
177 Oxchuc. The Indians say that it is a "living mountain" and give it great reverence, for Ikal Ajau was the name of the idol venerated by Oxchuc people in pre-Hispanic
795 times. In almost all the municipios the
184 saints are dressed as Indians. Towns with a
776 large Ladino population have different saints for the Ladinos, who are dressed as Ladinos and to whom the Indians are completely indifferent, even to forgetting the names of them.

*Fiesta for the Patron Saint*

796 One of the major events in the religious
794 life of the Indians is the annual fiesta in honor of the patron saint and the other saints kept in the church. The capitán principal and some of his immediate assistants are in charge of the organization and expenses of these fiestas. The length and cost
[435] of the fiesta correspond to the importance of the saint and range from one day and 100 pesos to four days and several thousand pesos, like the one for the patron saint. To become a capitán principal a man must go through all the ranks and be able to afford the expenses of any fiesta, from a small one to the very large ones of the patrons.

796 The fiesta of the patron of each village is similar to that for any other saint but larger. There are Masses and other religious observances in the church, processions with the image of the saint along the main streets, large meals at the house of the cargoholders, and, above all, constant drink-

[P 221-B]

[Text continues on p. 222-B]

796 "sembrar el alma del niño" and must be performed by the dzunubiles and the cabildos
[176] de misa. A similar devotion is made to Uch, the supernatural being connected with the growth of the cornfield mentioned earlier.

782 Also important are the prayers said by
778 families before the cross of the ancestors, in the sacred caves.

Finally, certain prayers and offerings are made to particular lakes considered sacred because they are inhabited by virgins who look after the well-being of the people. The best known of these lakes is Banabil in Tenejapa. Some day during the year, a small box containing a woman's dress and all its ornaments is thrown into the water. The dress must be made by a virgin or an old woman.

787 *Talking Saints*

776 Another religious form where Indian tra-
[177] dition is manifested through Christian formulae is the veneration of the talking saints, a widespread cult among the Tzeltal and Tzotzil. These saints are always private property and are usually kept in a small case on the house altar. The believers go to the house of those who own a talking saint and ask him about any secret problem that might require a special knowledge to be solved. Although any saint can be asked, the most popular one is San Miguelito. In order to consult him, people have to tell his owner their problems. The owner, who supposedly is the only one who can understand his saint, talks to him behind a curtain so that no one can see him. Often the owner of a talking saint succeeds in creating a cult out of the saint's box, making a special altar for him and asking the believers for frequent offerings and prayers. Sometimes there is no box, so the effigy is placed on an altar and concealed by a curtain when the private dialogue takes place.

There have been cases, however, in which the talking saints exceed their function as oracles and advise people on political matters. This is why some talking saints have

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5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campomtik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
172 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood.

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do.

FIG. 200—Cololté, Chia. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located.

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester.

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



Finally we reached the foot of a steep hill, on top of which the idol was supposed to be. This hill sloped gradually towards the north and the valley. Its southern side was a vertical cliff wall. It was difficult to climb to the top as the ground was slippery underfoot from its carpet of pine needles, but it was well worth the trouble. We reached the top, and there before us stood a small altar, built of rough stones (fig. 200). On the centre of the altar stood the idol, a small figure, 64 cm. high, carved out of yellow sandstone, and of the same type as those idols we had already seen, and knew to come from Toniná. The idol was badly weathered—only its sandaled feet were distinguishable. It was without a head, and had no carved hieroglyphs. Before it stood crude clay bowls in which were the charred remains of copal incense; rows of crude candlesticks were planted between the stones; and offerings of coloured strips of paper and small bunches of pine needles lay scattered around.

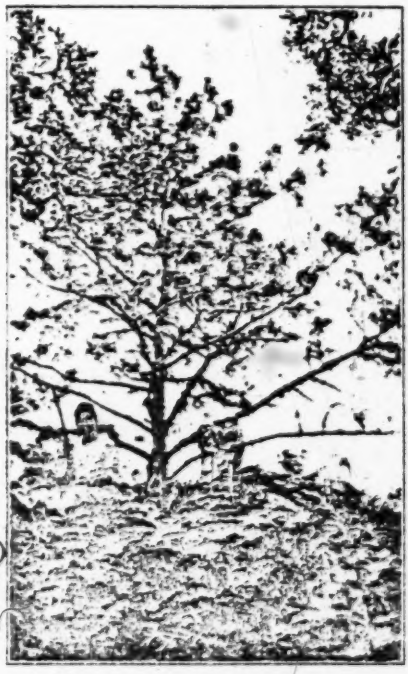

FIG. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Four hundred years of Spanish rule, four hundred of Catholic missionizing, had not been able to stamp out the worship of the ancient gods in the ancient way. Here I stood, the first white man to behold this altar, a white man with a deep interest in the ancient history of this country. I could not help feeling that the ancient gods were still living, and that I was nearer to the ancient times at that moment than I had ever been before. As I turned and saw just across the valley the mighty pyramids of Campomtik, and Toniná, the powerful city that once ruled over the valley, I realized that before me lay buried the ruins of a small State within the huge Maya area—a State born of Maya culture, using Maya hieroglyphs, speaking a Maya dialect, but at the same time expressing itself through its art in a way distinct from any other part of the Maya area.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid. La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a remodeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means "much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon, the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indains had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures. Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.

*Seler, E., 1901. Fig. 279.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas are called *k'in*, the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in*, "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar, tcun tat-ik*, "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik*, "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 309). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

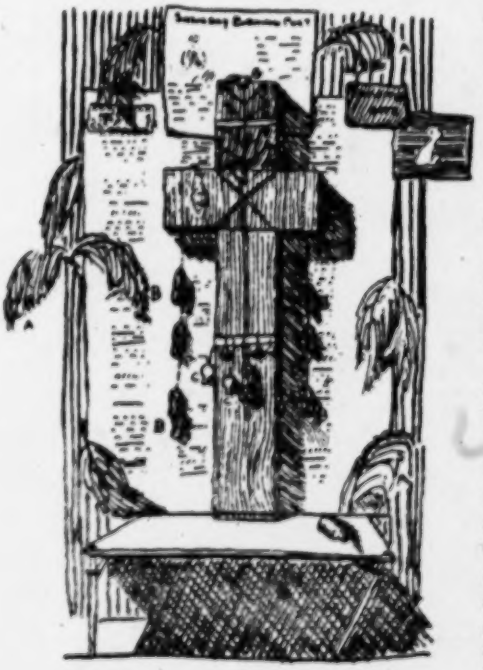

FIG. 308—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

*Cf. Tozzer, 1907, Page 151 ff.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave [123] this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 788 177 178 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the Catholic Church.

793 The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about [241] twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty- [648] second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir [794] branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belting of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty [534] Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his [533] musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like [535] a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9



spasmodically ever since. The temples and idols were overthrown, the theocracy, that knew the lore and could read the books, was killed off or reduced to the common level. The books themselves have vanished. At the same time, churches were built, and Christianity preached with a fine enthusiasm. Later, idols whenever discovered were destroyed, and all forms of heathenism vigourously opposed. This process has continued for some four hundred years. In other places less than half that time has sufficed to wipe out every vestige of an old cult, but here, not only had the Padres to deal with a race at least semi-civilized, supporting a sophisticated religion, but a people of remarkable, tenacious conservatism, and who, moreover, at all times have outnumbered their conquerors.

It must be borne in mind that the highly evolved, elaborate old-time religion could only be maintained in its purity by an educated people, men who could philosophize, study history, and read the stars with scientific accuracy. Obviously, what survives can only be in a simplified and debased form.

Most directly religious are certain places of worship retained by the Indians. The old Mayas are known to have used, of course, caves as well as their mounds and temples. Nuñez de la Vega* tells of such worship going on in his time, and according to Sapper† it continues in Guatemala today.

In Ocosingo Valley, the pyramids of Cololté (*kolol-te*, a kind of tree), Chakalchib (*cakaltcip'*, translation not known), and Campomtik (*kan*, "yellow," *pom*, "incense," *-ĕtik*, "much"), have been mentioned in the last chapter. They are all prehistoric places of worship. Their use by the Indians has been continued into modern times.

On top of Cololté the almost completely disfigured idol has already been described. It is decked with fir branches, and fir tips have been laid about its base. Before it in an arc stand wooden sticks to hold candles. The Indians do not come here at set periods as is usual elsewhere, but only when there is great need of rain.

Campomtik, across from Cololté, was used annually until a short time ago. Their celebrations made so much uproar that finally a local Priest had them driven away, and the worship there has been discontinued. There is still a big, rotting cross set up on top, but there are no offerings or candlesticks.

Behind Ocosingo, Chakalchib is still a place of worship, where fiestas are held annually without benefit of clergy. A large pile of stone in the center of the platform supports one cross about the

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
†Sapper, 1925.

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height of a man, and several other smaller ones in more or less dis- 178
repair. On the northeast side is a fireplace. There are a few candle- 178
sticks, some with traces of wax in them. Fir branches and tips, mostly withered, were piled so deeply as to indicate several years' deposits. According to description, Indians come here from far and near, to dance and drink as at any ceremony.

FIG. 310—Chacalchih, Chia. Altars.

A. Section of cave.
a. Sleeping place.
b. Ascent.
c. Level place.
d. Projection of rock.
B. Plan of Altar.
e. Board for incense.
f. Pine tips and candle sticks.
g. Reserve pile of pine tips and candle sticks.
C. Plan of Second Altar.
h. Cross.
i. Candle sticks.
j. Pine tips set on end.

More interesting than the top of the mound were two caves in its side, formed by the natural hollowing out of limestone outcrops near its base. The first of these had a small entrance, not high enough to stand up in, and just about large enough to give room for the grass bed and fire of which we found traces (fig. 310 a, b). From there the cave went up a few meters, and divided. The

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778 178 left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

782 Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHwal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocoposole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 365 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

776 [823] There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains, *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, corresponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two

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ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central authority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

## Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits (*P'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

*The house spirits.* The spirits of inhabitants and of the house meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe-

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342 776 753 tite must be satisfied when the house is first occupied and when the children of the house fall ill from a sickness diagnosed by a curer as a result of their souls being eaten. The souls of the inmates of the house hover near the center post when they are not in the body. The soul calling ceremony 342 755 is held near this center post. If someone is cured in a house not his own, he must not sit near this post because his soul will be confused with those of the inmates of the house. The curing arch is erected directly before the center post, over the square hole in which the ceremonial offering of a sheep's head is buried when the house is built. A live chicken is buried in this spot if the illness is severe.

776 778 769 TABLE 3. Spirits and Places

| *Place* | *Place spirit* | *Person spirit* |
|---|---|---|
| Loci of spirits to be supplicated | | |
| House | Spirit of the house (*sc'ulel na*) | Spirits of children (*sc'uleletik yuntikil*) |
| Spring of San Nicolás | Little Ladino (*č'in kaxlan*) | Spirits of male patients (*sc'uleletik yu?un keremetik*) |
| Spring of Pahaltón | Little Ladina (*č'in šinlan*) | Spirits of female patients (*sc'uleletik yu?un ?ac'išetik*) |
| Cave of Ancestors | Lopez brothers (*Šuntonetik*) | Spirits of townspeople (*sc'uleletik spisil teklum*) |
| Loci of spirits to be avoided | | |
| Cave of Don David | Ladino moneylender (*Klabil*) | Petitioners for wealth |
| Cave of the Black Man | Devil, or black man (*?ihk'al winik*) | Witches |
| Cave of Juan Santos | Deceased recipient of wealth from Cave Hwan Santil | Petitioners for wealth |
| Stone Cave | Owner of cave (*Yahwal sc'en*) | Petitioners for wealth |
| Cave of Elotes | Owner of cave (*Yahwal sc'en*) | Petitioners for wealth |
| Cave of the Star | Owner of star (*Yahwal ?ek'*) | Curers and witches |

18 When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient must be protected against reentry of the evil by a gift of medicine to the house. Palm crosses are made for the corner posts and the entry, and a medicine consisting of a mixture of garlic and creosote, the seeds of mustard, and *poštan*, a "hot" herb, is mixed. As the crosses are nailed on the posts, the curer marks a cross with the medicine over the palm cross. This "covers the eyes of the evil spirit" so that it will not enter the house. In the Eyes of the Ancestors

The relationship between house spirit and the spirits of the residents is an uneasy one. Fear is associated with this capricious spirit, who might make an alliance with evil spirits, and whose power is evident only in sickness and in death, never in good deeds. A sense of alienation is conveyed in the fact that the house spirit and the spirits of the spring are conceived of as Ladinos. Spirits of the house and of the landscape are exacting landlords from whom the tenants expect nothing in return for their offerings but freedom from harm. Acceptance of the offerings seals a contract between spiritual occupants that must continually be renewed in order to maintain the balance of security expressed in the phrase "to be of one heart." The payment of a "tribute" in the form of food, liquor, and entertainment is part of a larger strategy by which these Indians ensure their survival by appeasement of overlords, demanding government officials, and the very rats which live in their houses and feed on the corn they store in the eaves.

*The springs.* Other meeting grounds for the spirits of people and places are the springs. The major spring, San Nicolás, is located on the southwestern periphery of the town. It provides drinking water and water for irrigating the cultivated lands. A second spring, called Pahaltón, lies closer to the village and provides a smaller stream of water directed into the canals irrigating the fields of the center. Some say the spirit of San Nicolás is a small Ladino boy; others say he is a man. The spirit of Pahaltón is a female non-Indian, or *Ladina*. The spirits of these waters are able to effect miraculous cures for patients who have lost their souls or those who are of two hearts because of upset social relations in the home. Male patients are brought to San Nicolás and female patients are brought to Pahaltón to seek a miracle. In the curing ceremony an arch of flowers entwined in pine boughs is constructed as closely as possible to the spring

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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

*The Cave of the Ancestors.* The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

*Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."*

*The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their* swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assiged a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

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*As the two brothers were walking, the elder brother said, "Do you see what that man is doing?" He was referring to a black man lying near the road. "He is sleeping," said the younger. The elder said, "Let us go on."*

*They approached closer to the sleeping man. The elder brother said, "Let us pass." Just as they were passing, the black man said, "Where are you going? Come back! Come, enter here."*

*They entered a cave. The black man said, "Here you are going to die."*

*"So be it," said the elder.*

*"Put your head here," said the black man. He went to get his machete, but instead of hitting the head with it, he drove it into the great stone which was the elder brother's swayohel. "Ah, the devil, who are you?" he asked. Turning to the younger brother, he said, "Now it is your turn!"*

*The younger brother came, and the black man struck him with his machete. The machete broke.*

*"Now it is your turn, black man!" said the younger brother. The devil began to cry, "Go along, I will not trouble you." "Yes, you will always trouble us," said the elder brother. "I shall give you money," said the black man. "No, I have money," said the elder brother. "Then I shall carry you," said the black man. "I do not want that. You must die!" said the elder brother. "Come, boy [to his younger brother], cut a stick and make two points on each side. Stick it there and a wind will carry him aloft."*

*Then a snake came and settled right there where the stick was planted. The black man fell, and the stick entered his anus. It came out of his mouth and he died. The brothers cut off his head and brought it to Guatemala. They delivered the paper to the priest, who was very frightened.*

*"Which way have you come?" asked the priest. "We came along the road," answered the brothers.*

*"But didn't you see anyone?" asked the priest. "No one," answered the brothers. "But where did you really go?" asked the priest.*

*"Since you force us to answer, we did meet someone," answered the brothers, "covering the road where we passed midway. We brought him here."*

*"I want to see him," said the priest. The elder brother said, "Look, I brought him in this box. I cut off his head."*

*The priest looked, and when he saw the head, he cried. He ordered the*

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*soldiers to come and throw the Shunton brothers in jail. He ordered a meal brought to prison with a servant.*

*"I do not want it," said the elder brother and returned it with the servant. "Tell him [the priest] that I do not want it but thank him."*

*The servant told the priest that the brothers did not want the good meal.*

*"Good," said the priest. "If they don't eat in a little while they will be dead. Go leave them liquor so that they will not feel how they die."*

*"Good," said the servant. She went to the jail and said, "My master wants to know if you want to drink."*

*"I don't want any. I have some too. I brought a liter of trago." There they were drinking inside the prison.*

*At ten in the morning, they came to tie a blindfold on the brothers. They shot at them, but the bullet did not hit. They shot again, but it did not hit. "Who are these people?" asked the priest. "Send out another soldier!" The other began to fire, but the bullets did not hit the brothers. Many soldiers came out and fired, but the bullets did not hit them.*

*"Then," said the soldier, "you know what we shall do? We shall burn them in this hide."*

*"Good, go look for the hide. When the hide comes we will prepare it," said the priest.*

*They began to sew the hide. When they finished sewing, they began to throw wood and lit a fire. They waited until the fire started. They came to see the brothers. They were very drunk.*

*"Bring them here." said the priest. "Not yet. They are still drinking." But the priest answered, "They have drunk enough. Go bring them and we shall burn them."*

*On their second return, the fire began to burn the pueblo. The people began to cry. Half the pueblo was burned when the Lord of Lightning and Rain came. A shower hit the fire.*

*"Good," said the elder brother. "We have won. Now the fire is out and we shall go. Let us see if they are waiting for us in our town. If not, I know where we can find some pretty women in Chiapa."*

*"Good. Let us rest a little," said the younger brother.*

*"Good, I am thirsty. Let us go where there is water," said the elder.*

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*"Good."*

*They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"*

*They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.*

This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its authenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

*The curers used to go up to the cave with the alfereces, the* mayordomos *[religious officials], the prayer reciters, and the people of the village. When they arrived there, the mayordomos played the guitar and gourd rattle. They lit candles and incense, and the leading curers would go inside the cave. All the people contributed money for the liquor and candles which was collected by the officials. They said that they spoke to the ancestors inside, where there was a lake and a beautiful field. They asked for rain and good crops. They would come out and tell the people waiting outside what the ancestors had said.*

*Then one year [in 1957] during the fiesta of the cave, the curers went into the cave. The people said to the curers, "We want to see the owners." The curers said they would come out, but they didn't. The people waited and waited. A boy went inside with the curers. They tried to prevent him, saying, "Won't you be afraid?" He said, "No, let's go in." They entered twenty feet inside the door. The curers said, "Let us stay here." The boy asked them where was the river, the lake, and the milpa that were supposed to be inside. The curer replied, "It is all a lie. Now you know; don't tell the people." But when he came out, the boy told the people it was all a deception.*

Since the late 1950s the ritual has changed. The curers no longer officiate, nor do they enter the cave and speak to the ancestors as they did formerly. The *fiscal,* or assistant to the priest, leads the mayordomos, alferreces, and prayer-reciters to the cave on the Day of the Cross and simply replace the palm cross at the entrance to the cave just as they do with the palm crosses fixed to the wooden crosses marking the roads leading into the town. The curers have attempted to revive the belief in the presence of the ancestors by saying that their nephew is in residence now, but no one I ever spoke to believes this. Most people agree that the ancestors live permanently in Chiapa de Corso.[9]

*The hill and cave owners.* While people try to maintain a good relationship with the spirits of the house, of the springs, and of the Cave of the Ancestors, they avoid the dangerous spirits of the hills and caves

9. A similar myth concerning the departure of the ancestors to go live in Chiapa de Corzo exists in Pinola (Hermitte 1964).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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776 which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work [756] for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy [754] approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and mali- [825] ciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

556 Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some 756 of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these 778 gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give 789 gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thurs- [782] day, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

756 Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence 776 in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures. 778 Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow [829] through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Kla- bil lives.

[539] *He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at mid- night on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At mid- night Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of* "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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*woman opened the door, she said,* "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.*

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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*hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.*

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo?ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

*One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.*

*Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."*

*The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



342 177 178 434 of witchcraft. Today probably 95 percent of the new roofs are made of tile. Often the old roofs cannot be replaced with tile because the rafters were not built to support them. One result of the change has been the dependence [335] on a carpenter to construct the gables, since they have to be lined up more accurately than they do with thatch or palm roofs.

361 351 434 House lots in the town center are preferred to those on the margins. As residents of house sites on the ejido lands at the margins of the town acquire wealth, one of the first things they try to do is acquire a house closer to the plaza. These lots are smaller, averaging about 500 square meters, while those farther out average 900 square meters. In a sample measurement of 100 house lots, the size ranged from 180 to 1,440 square meters, and the average size was 77 square meters. Considering the advantages of a large lot [554] in growing chile fruits and corn, the preference for smaller central lots reveals the strong prestige factor influencing choice.

352 435 [513] House furnishings include both purchased and homemade items. Sleeping accommodations consist of wooden bedboards, either nailed on a frame or simply laid on blocks and covered with a straw mat. Woolen blankets from Comitán are sold locally at a price of 24 pesos or for 20 pesos in San Cristóbal and 18 pesos in Comitán. Most households own two or three wooden benches which line the walls of the porch and are made locally. Small chairs are purchased from Chamula carpenters at a cost of 2 to 4 pesos, as well as a small table costing about 4. A higher table [778] is provided for the saints' pictures and candle holders, incense burner, and [322] flower vases or tin cans. Hooks are fashioned from the crotch of trees and suspended on the house posts. Wooden boxes are bought from Ladino carpenters in San Cristóbal at a cost of 10 to 20 pesos depending on size and workmanship and are used to store clothing. In addition to the homemade water holders, water carriers, comales, strainers, and bowls, handmade glazed ware from San Cristóbal, factory-made porcelain dishes, metal cooking pots, knives, and spoons are purchased. Gourds provide serving ware [412] for ceremonial occasions. Stone grinding platforms and rollers are purchased in San Cristóbal for about 10 pesos. Two new items have become increasingly popular in the past five years: a metal grinding machine for corn, hand operated and costing from 40 to 60 pesos depending on the size and quality, and a hinged press for tortillas, costing 15 pesos if made

415 435 439 435 415 177

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

[273] [593] [603] [1778]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

## Betrothal and Marriage

796 179 584 585 The Indians of Tzo'onthal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] [571] [608] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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sulted with each other to determine who was bringing in the heat. They privately disposed of the evil by causing the evildoer to die of an illness. At the time of my stay, suspicion of the curers meant that a public hearing was held in the town hall to determine who the guilty person was; usually one of the curers themselves was suspected (Chapter 9).

The curers formerly demonstrated their beneficial power by bringing rain during a fiesta held in the cave of the ancestors. This is described by an informant:

*When the pueblo lacked rain in the growing season of corn in May and June, the leading curers went with the other curers, the fiscal, the alfereces, the mayordomos, and the women prayer-reciters to the cave. All the women carried candles of a peso or fifty-cent size and incense burners. They drank a great deal of liquor at the mouth of the cave and then entered to dance. The mayordomos played the guitar, the drum, and flute as the women danced and the curers prayed to the me?tiktatik. There used to be a spring in this cave, people say, and the ancestors granted water from it when they were given a fiesta.*

*The last fiesta for rain occurred about 1950. The whole town contributed two pesos for the liquor and candles. The leading curer then was Juliano, a man recognized for his powers in curing and in bringing rain. He told the people that he spoke to the me?tiktatik who, he said, were dressed in the old style [a shirt worn over short cotton pants still used by older men of the town, and the handwoven hat worn by alfereces today]. The curers told the people that it would rain, and the afternoon of the fiesta, it came down hard.*

There is no longer faith that the ancestors live in the cave, nor that the present curers could speak to them if they did.

The growing discontent with the curers, the suspicion that they are responsible for much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of an older informant.

*The curer O. K. told me that the curers ate the spirits of sick people who were going to die. The sick people would come to ask the curers for*

Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

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[P. 198-A]

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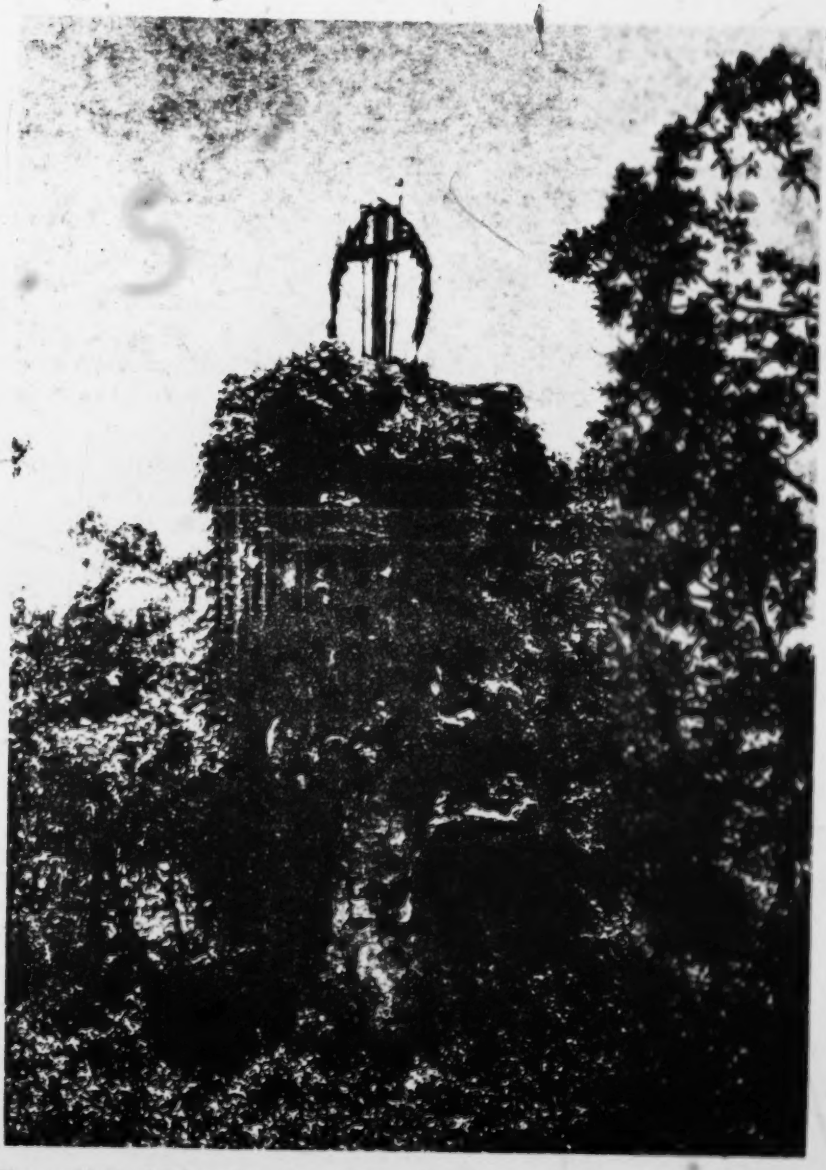

Plate 1. Head of Palm where the ancestors stand and watch over the town. The cross, standing about twelve feet high and adorned with an arch of pine boughs and flowers, tops a jutting rock about thirty feet high. Behind the rock is the hill with the cave in which the ancestors were reputed to live.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
[P 198-G]

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Plate 8. Women of a household and their helpers grinding corn and making tortillas with a press in preparation for a house ceremony. They are all dressed in the traditional costume. Most of such food preparation is done inside the house except at the time of large festivals. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

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Plate 9. Curer sitting next to the center post where he has just arranged the candles and branches of spring bushes in preparation for the house fiesta. The basket contains the protective crosses, bound with palm fronds, which he will nail on the house posts. The basin contains springwater, and the gourd in the foreground contains the powdered medicines which will be added to the water and drunk. Photograph by Marcey Jacobson.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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3. Categories of role-bearers sit and act together in all the domains. In the home the me'eletik, the nakawanehetik, and the b'alnialetik have established seats and act in concert. Similarly in the cabildo, four ranks of officials, the principales, judges, regidores, and police, move and act together. In the church, elder and younger mayordomos move in pairs of two.

4. Sexual segregation is present in the home, the church, and the cabildo, but is lacking in the school. This rejection of the community standard for a group situation was the basis for some parents holding their children out of school until coerced by the federal authorities backed by the local officials.

5. Attendance in all domains involves coercion as well as voluntary action. Coercion is most marked in the school, but resistance by the parents to forced attendance and mixing of the sexes is fast wearing down in this domain. In the cabildo, the defendant is required to attend the court hearing and may even be jailed if he does not pay the fines charged against him. Coercion is covert in the home; the lack of alternative housing arrangements makes residence in the household of orientation or of procreation mandatory.

6. Sacred symbols are present in all the domains. The symbols of the cabildo and of the school relate the community to the nation with the national flags and the portraits of the president. The canes of office which are assumed as each official acquires office are symbols of local authority. The universalistic symbols of the church—the saints images, portraits, and banners—are acquired from Catholic orthodoxy, but have been encapsulated with local sentiments and beliefs. Sacred symbols are treated with respect and avoidance, both in the church and the home. The "holy cross" or banners are touched only with sacred embroidered cloths binding the hands of those who carry them. Saints' images are kissed, but as a mark of respect, not intimacy. The Mexican flag, with which less awe is associated, is saluted.

Each of the domains provides a setting for the recognition and validation of authority figures in the community. Values which are communally shared or imposed from outside are formally instilled in these settings. Ex-

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tseltal NV9
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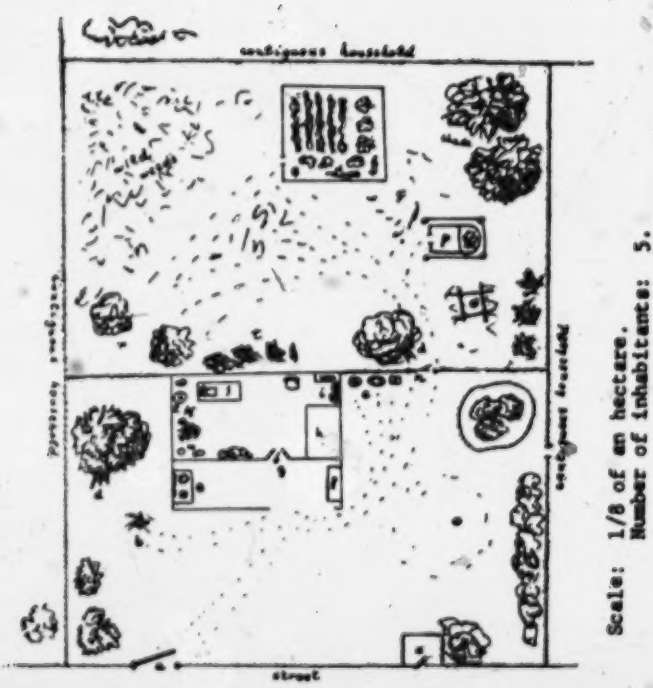


Fig. 10.--Model of a Standard Household

a--entrance gate
b--nixtamal washing-pot
c--water pots
d--chicken coop in a tree
e--Saint's altar in the corridor
f--bench for receiving visitors
g--double door
h--wooden bed
i--petates (mats) chest and chair
j--table for making tortillas (with the grinding stone or metate)
k--molino and fire place
l--water pot inside the house
m--little stools for seating during meals and stored bags
n--gate to back yard
o--raised pig-pen
p--temascal (steam bath)
q--garden with chillis, and "tomatoes"
r--peach trees
s--pig-pen with gate to the street
t--fire-wood drying

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
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TABLE 5

HOUSE TYPES IN AMATENANGO[a]

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| Type | Cases | Per Cent |
|---|---|---|
| Roof | | |
| Tile | 1 | 1 |
| Shingle | 28 | 24 |
| Thatch | 87 | 75 |
| Wall | | |
| Wattle-and-daub | 97 | 84 |
| Rough Boards | 19 | 16 |

[a]After Nash, J.: 1959.

342 Houses are a part of the family. They are considered as being alive (they grow old, just as people do) and watching the behavior of humans, toward whom they are somewhat unfriendly. If they are displeased with the behavior of the inhabitants, they can bring nightmares to the adults, death to the children and other misfortunes. Calixta Guiteras-Holmes (1960) has suggested that houses are ideologically connected with the earth, whom one has to please if crops are going to grow steadily, and to the monte (forested hills), where the wood for its construction is gathered. [NR] Thus, because the monte is the residence of the evil spirits, enemies of mankind, the house is a projection of this malevolent world.

342 753 571 598 Even more significant is the house ritual connected with the sickness of a person who lives in it. It is significant

342 753 591 578 because sickness is considered a supernatural expression of disturbed social relations, and this is considered disruptive, not only for the people who inhabit a single dwelling, but also for the building which symbolizes their common residence and interests. As long as the relations of people living in a house are harmonious, the house is kept contented. But if this is not so, both the people and the building have to be ritually cleaned. For example, if a daughter disobeys her mother, she is considered to be suffering from bilis or cólico, and in need of curing. During the curing ceremony, the sick misbehaver has to be instructed about her duties as a good daughter, and is given a speech apropos the misdemeanor. The curing ceremony is not completed if the house is not ritually cured, too. This is done by a curer offering the building some trago, the local brew, asking it to be contented. This offering is then symbolic of both the re-establishment of normal social relations between the individuals living in the house, and between the individuals and their material projection, their house.

342 753 578 783 782

572 778 The people living in a household are in charge of performing some other rituals which are expected to insure the welfare of the whole group.

A small altar, usually made of a pine table, is kept in the house. It is covered with Catholic Saints' images and printed religious calendars. The table also contains all kinds of other things: petty cash (which is kept there for small purchases), double corncobs (which are "lucky pieces") or unusually colored maize, and any other oddity found by the household members, such

592 778 as archeological pieces ("things of the people of before"). This altar is usually located in the house corridor. The altar is cleaned regularly and adorned with flowers by the women, and a candle or two is lighted on propitious days of the week, or to ask the house Saints for protection against witchcraft.

592 778 769 342 On the first of November, "day of all the dead" according to the Catholic calendar, a ceremonial offering of food to the spirits of the deceased is placed on this altar. It is in memory of the spirits who lived in the house in the immediate past, and who are supposed to come to enjoy the food and the fact that they are being remembered by the household. The ritual is performed only for the immediate generations. It is not the worshipping of one's ancestors, for it is for people who are not necessarily related by kinship, but for those who resided in the house. (Second wives, for example, are expected to offer food to the deceased first wife of their husbands if they lived in the same dwelling.)

592 769 Afterwards, the food is distributed among the living relatives, compadres and neighbors, and all members of the household go to the cemetery.

[794] At the cemetery, the tombs are cleaned, repaired, adorned with marigolds, fruit and other food, and the family pays for the performance of a responso, funeral oration, read by a part-time specialist in such matters.

592 769 342 If these rituals are not performed, the dead come back to their life stage, the house, and wander aimlessly among the living, scaring people, giving them bad dreams, or taking the lives of children.

## Change of Officials

The degree of integration of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy can be described behaviorally. The following acts (App. 1) indicate this structural feature. 621* 794 182

Q. 24. The civil officials kneel and "measure their noses" as they enter the townhall in deference to the banners. [788]

Q. 27. Sacred objects, such as the holy banners of the *kobrarias*, are present on the table in the townhall as the officers take the oath of office. Officials carry rosaries as they accept oath and wear them in the procession to the church. [778]

Q. 28. The alfereces are present in the townhall to witness the ceremony. As bearers of the four major saints of the town, their role is primarily defined in a religious context.

Q. 41. Officials go to the church immediately following their procession in the plaza to pray for health to carry out their responsibilities. [782]

Q. 48. The religious officials are present in church on New Year's day to witness the arrival of new officials of the civil wing.

The alfereces link the two wings of the hierarchy in the following acts: 794 182

Q. 36. They carry the sacred banners to the townhall on the day of the inauguration.

Chart 9. They lead the parade of new officials of the civil wing.

Q. 28. They witness ("look at") the inauguration of the civil officials in the townhall.

Q. 36. In emerging from the townhall, they bow and incline their banners first before the townhall, then before the church. [788]

In the inauguration of the religious officials the only act uniting officials of the two wings of the hierarchies is that of counting the money (App. 2, Q. 90) when the town treasurer and síndico assist the church officials. The integration of the civil and religious wings in Tzo?ontahal is asymmetrical. The church officials as a group are involved in the civil inauguration, but the civil officials are only peripherally involved in the religious inauguration. 621* 794 182 [624]

Another behavioral basis for stating the dimensions of the civil and religious integration is found in the replication of symbols and acts in each inauguration. In taking the oath, the term *yič huramentu* is used in both settings. The staff as symbol of civil office has its counterpart in the candles handed over to the mayordomos. In both ceremonies, officials of the townhall and of the church wear red kerchiefs and carry rosaries when receiving the oath of office. 621* 794 182 782 788 [641] [292] [293]

Replication of behavior in both civil and religious 000

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *621 124 796 | 26. What do they do in the townhall? | They take the oath | | |
| [798] | 27. How is the townhall arranged? | The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table | | On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table. |
| | 28. Who is in the townhall? | There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a hu?elc-tik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinnipalesik)* and the four alfereces *(alperesil)*. (See Chart 7) | It is the old officials | (See Chart 8) |
| | 29. What are the old officials doing? | They are seated conversing | | |
| *621 124 796 64 [782] | 30. How do they take the oath? | They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs. | Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners | New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand |
| [273] | 31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me?tiktatik)*? | One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials | One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff | Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president |
| *621 124 796 641 875 539 | 32. Who gave the oath? | | The secretary | The schoolteacher |
| | 32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath? | | | Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor |